

political fund, contributed \$8,000 towards the event to “assist in defraying costs to bring President Clinton to Minnesota.”¹²² Notably, one witness reported that Kitto and several tribal leaders spoke with the President about the Hudson application in a brief hallway meeting at the fund-raiser.¹²³

3. The Coordinated Opposition Lobbying Effort Focuses Its Political Arguments and Agenda

a. The Tribal Opponents Identify Their Arguments, and Their Audience

Once the area office recommended approval of the casino application, the Minnesota tribes, along with their Wisconsin allies, undertook a well-orchestrated Washington lobbying effort to defeat the application. Their initial theme, unsupported by the record, was that the MAO had simply ignored the concerns of the Minnesota tribes and had denied them consultation.

Another theme developed by the lobbyists once the application went to Washington, but downplayed by witnesses in this investigation, was that the casino application, if approved, would hurt Democrats and help Republicans. As it unfolded, this theme entailed explicit reference to both the political support the opponent tribes had provided to the Democratic Party

¹²²Letter from John McCarthy to Ann Wynia, Nov. 8, 1994. The contribution was made to an entity called the United Democratic Fund, which is an organization that contributes to both federal and state candidates and apparently organized the effort to bring President Clinton to Duluth.

¹²³In a civil deposition, Kitto stated he would have taken the opportunity at a fund-raiser to discuss the Hudson issue with the President or Vice President if the occasion arose, but denied that he ever actually spoke with the President about the Hudson matter, and could not recall whether he ever spoke with the Vice President about it. McCarthy recalled that the lobbyists, including Kitto, had informed MIGA members that they had raised the Hudson issue with the Vice President at one or more fund-raisers.